

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XIII. No. 5.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 30, 1808. [PRICE 10D.

On the 27th of November, 1807, Mr. Lyon stated in the House of Representatives, That he wished the galleries cleared, and the doors closed, bolted, and barred, as he had some highly important matters to communicate. The House having gratified his wishes, he observed, that Mr. Erskine, the British Minister, had recently transferred stock, *possessed by his father to a large amount in the American Funds.*

[61]

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.—I. *King's Speech.* II. *Ireland.* III. *Places in Reversion.*—Before we proceed to the giving of any account of what has passed in the parliament, it seems necessary to say a few words relative to the state of the two factions, who are engaged in a continual war against each other, the chief object of which war being the possession of the places in the gift of the crown, and of the great emoluments, arising from that possession.—During the recess, the father of Lord Howick having died, that lord became a peer, and, of course, could no longer remain in the House of Commons, where, after the death of Mr. Fox, he had been, what is called the *leader of the opposition.* Another leader was, therefore, to be selected, as some thought; but, it would seem, that the most, like that of Earl Marshall of the Kingdom, is now become hereditary; for, as it were of course, Mr. Ponsonby (a name little familiar to our ears), who is a brother-in-law of Lord Howick, his lordship having no nearer relation in parliament, takes upon him, as the newspapers tell us, to perform the functions, lately performed by his noble relation. It is he who now asks questions of "his Majesty's ministers;" it is he who is now called "the honourable gentleman opposite;" it is he who now nods *yes*, or shakes *no*, while the ministers are speaking; it is he, under whom arrange themselves, giving their votes as he gives his, numbers of men, whom, for reasons too evident to mention, I will not attempt to describe.—This change of leader is not, however, any disadvantage to the out-faction. It would, indeed, have been hard if they had experienced disadvantage from any change, considering who was their leader before. But, somehow or other, there does appear to be a sort of shame attached to this transfer from the late leader to the present one. There are some of those good pliant souls, commonly called country gentlemen, who shrug up their shoulders at it. In fact, some, to my certain knowledge, do really doubt, whether

[162

subjection to George Rose be not just as reasonable and as honourable as subjection to Mr. Ponsonby; and, as to the people, they are no longer to be persuaded, that they have any, even the smallest interest in such matters. They care not, which faction is out: they have seen both in, and, as to places and pensions, they have seen no difference in their conduct. The outs may, therefore, bawl to the people to come and take part with them; but, no aid will they ever receive from that quarter. Our answer to them always will be; it was you who made war for Hanover; it was you who told us that Hanover ought to be as dear to us as Hampshire; it was you, who, in your first act, enabled lord Grenville to hold two offices, incompatible with each other; it was you who made the Lord Chief Justice a member of the cabinet; it was you who brought in a bill to augment the number of Hanoverian troops in this kingdom; it was you who proposed to subject our private cellars and brewhouses to the survey of excisemen; it was you, who, after ten year's execration of the principle of the income tax, came, and, at a single stroke, almost doubled its amount, while, however, you took care wholly to exempt from the operation of that tax, the property which, under whatever name, the *king* might have in the funds: yes, it was you, who, more than any other set of politicians, owed your elevation to the good opinion of the people, and who, the moment you were safely seated in power, set that opinion at nought, and seemed to glory in proving, that you had always intended to dupe the people, and that, in point of insincerity, you scorned to yield to any set of courtiers that ever existed.—The *out* faction had, during the recess, gained nothing at all in any way, but they had lost by events, giving rise to questions, upon which they would naturally be divided. The *in* faction had gained in the same proportion; and, it was expected by every body, that there would be many deserters from the former; an expectation, which, in a few days, we shall see verified.—The debate upon

F

the King's speech was, as far as appears from the report of it, in the newspapers, as dull an one as was ever heard. There was not a single argument made use of, which had not before, been, over and over again, made use of in the newspapers; and, it is a little hard upon us to be obliged to purchase now, in the form of parliamentary speeches, what we have before purchased, in the form of editorial paragraphs. There has been no effect whatever produced upon the public mind by this debate. Men think now, just as they thought before. The question, with respect to Copenhagen, does not turn at all upon the nature of any papers that can be produced. This is the shape in which it presents itself: Napoleon had conquered the continent of Europe, and, after the peace of Tilsit, was it credible, that the fleet and arsenals of Denmark would not have been made use of for the purpose of injuring England? "What will Napoleon do next," was the question which men put to one another. The answer was: "Why, he will bring out the Russian and Danish fleets against us, to be sure." Was not this the universal opinion? As far as my observation went it was. I believe it was the opinion of the whole nation; and, if it was so, how were the ministers to act otherwise than in the manner in which they did act, they entertaining this opinion, in common with others? I, therefore, want no papers; I want no information; the exposure of no secret intelligence; and the ministers have greatly weakened their cause by making their justification rest, even in the smallest degree, upon any thing other than the notoriety of the circumstances, under which they acted.—My lord Grenville is said to have dwelt much upon the necessity of showing the world, that parliament is not actuated by the vulgar design of "fighting Buonaparté with his own weapons;" that is, of giving up the unequal conflict, says he, "of justice against injustice, and betaking ourselves to injustice as well as he." But, this is not fairly stated. We are not proposing to betake ourselves to "injustice;" for, when our enemy has set all that has been called law at defiance; when, from whatever cause proceeding, the neutral nations have been compelled to act in such a manner as to favour his cause as effectually as if engaged in open war upon his side, it is not injustice in us to do all that lies in our power to prevent them from continuing so to act. If a gang of ruffians, having a design to rob your house and murder you, enter first into your stable chambers, and, under the influence of terror, prevail upon your grooms to show them

the way and to assist in the enterprize, you, in defence of your property and life, are fully justified in killing your grooms, though you may possess the certain knowledge, that they act under the influence of fear. "Yes," say the *out* faction, "but, we did not, in this case, stop until the Danes began to act." No: nor did we kill the Danes, in the first instance. We saw, that they would be compelled to act against us; we saw that they had not the power to resist the united commands of Russia and France, or rather, the commands of France conveyed through Russia, and, under those circumstances, we demanded a security, that those commands should not operate to our injury. We meditated no harm to Denmark. We proposed to do it no harm. We only wanted to be quite secure against the great harm that it might do us; and, when people talk about the infamy of submitting to this demand of security, made by us, they seem to think, that there would have been no infamy at all in submitting to the commands of France and of Russia. It is very well to talk about "independent nations," and the "perfect equality" that exists between them, thereon grounding the question, "how should *we* have relished a proposition, such as that which was made by us to Denmark?" But, does not the history of the world prove, that this sort of equality has no existence, except in the imagination? That little nations must be made instruments in the hands of great nations; and that, during the concussions of extended warfare, it is impossible for them to be independent? The well-known weakness of Denmark would have been an apology for her yielding to our proposition; but, there is nothing that the mind of man could invent, that would be an apology for our yielding to a similar proposition, made by any power. It is no disgrace for a boy of ten years of age to give up, without resistance, to a man of thirty; but, there may be great disgrace in the man of thirty giving up, without resistance, to any man whatever. Taking, therefore, all the circumstances into view, I cannot help thinking, that the Prince Royal of Denmark was actuated, in his rejection of our propositions, by motives very different indeed from those, which the enemies of the expedition have attributed to him; and that, in fact, all his invectives against us are to be ascribed to a desire of ingratiating himself with the Emperor Napoleon. He did not, probably, see with satisfaction the time approaching, when he should be compelled to aid in the destruction of England; but, it is not less probable, that he might choose to

in that destruction, rather than to forego the advantages of continuing in possession of fleet and trade.—There is, however, a larger view, in which this question presents itself. If there be two great powers and many little powers, in any part of the world; and, if one of the great powers, setting at naught all the rules, by which nations have hitherto suffered their warlike operations to be circumscribed, compels all the little powers within its reach to join it in its endeavours to destroy its rival, the other great power is fully justified in resorting to similar means; and, if this be denied, then, the power which will set the rules at defiance, is sure, in the end, to conquer all; so that, the question, is, shall all be conquered by one of the great powers, or shall this part of the world be divided between them? I am for the latter. In this view of the matter, therefore, it signifies not what was the position of Denmark, or what was the extent of her ability to injure us. The only question to be asked is this: has the expedition to Copenhagen put us in a state the better to defend ourselves against that enemy, who is, and long has been, engaged in the work of conquering all Europe? There are persons, who will answer this question in the negative; and who talk about “rotten ships” and “perishing stores”; but, rotten they are, they are as well here as at Copenhagen, whence I think no one will deny, that they would soon have been gotten out under the effect of a French decree. In short, the expedition against Copenhagen is to be tried by no settled rules relating to the practices of nations: the circumstances, under which it was resolved on, were entirely without example; and its justification rests solely upon the seizure of the fleet being necessary to our safety. It is my opinion, that this and similar measures, or, at least, measures in a similar spirit, were and are necessary to our safety; and, therefore, though I admit the necessity, I approve of the measures.—Upon the subject of *peace*, Lord Grenville is reported to have expressed his regret, that the ministers insisted upon a basis to be laid down by the proposed mediator; and that, he saw no objection to a mediator not being himself independent. His lordship disapproved of petitions for peace; but, could not help feeling anxiety at the number and strength of our foes, especially when he feared that America would soon be added to them. To the expressing of which anxiety I have only this one objection, namely, that it was perfectly useless; and could answer no

purpose but that of producing, in a greater degree, the very effect which his lordship apprehended from the petitions. I do not view the question of peace in the same light with his lordship. I do not think, that the increased number and strength of our enemies adds at all to our danger; because it is strength which cannot be brought to operate against us. While we had run-away allies upon the continent, our danger was, in my opinion, much greater than it now is; and, be our danger what it may, to overcome it, or to be conquered, is our only choice. This is the notion, which appears to me to be the most useful to inculcate at this time. To talk about forms of treating; to amuse us with a display of terms from the dictionary of the portfolio, is not only useless but mischievous. It must, I think, be evident, that England has yet to maintain a long and arduous contest, before she can have a chance of obtaining a secure peace; and, if that be the case, our only study ought to be, how we shall maintain that contest. This is the question, about which the enemy should see us disputing; but, if he turn his eyes this way, he will see us engaged in nothing but little squabbles about who shall have the most of the money that is annually raised upon the public. There is a great talk, indeed, about “a crisis;” we are told, that we are “in the crisis of our fate;” but, we have been told this any time these fifteen years last past; therefore, it appears to me to be quite useless to talk about a crisis any longer.—With respect to Portugal, or, rather, the Brazils, Lord Grenville was very right. He said he could not see any new opening that the emigration would make for our commerce. “As to any commercial or political advantages to this country, said he, to be derived from the emigration to the Brazils, I cannot consent to delude my countrymen by holding out such an idea.” The Morning Chronicle must have been somewhat disappointed at this, after having so boldly asserted, that the Brazils were “able to supply our West-India colonies with lumber and provisions.” I do not think, that there was much necessity for his lordship’s saying what he did say, upon this subject, for, I believe, the public have been, for some time, satisfied, that no advantage whatever will arise to this kingdom from the emigration in question; while, on the contrary, it will produce a heavy and constant drain of men and money.—The whole of the debate was, as was before observed, very un-

teresting, all the points having been so amply discussed beforehand, in the newspapers. There was one interesting circumstance, however, and that was, that Mr. Ponsonby, the new "leader of the opposition," was answered, and most triumphantly too, by Mr. Milnes, a new orator, and a very young man. At this, if we may believe the reporters, Mr. Whitbread took fire, a fire, however, more ardent than brilliant. Of the article, or paragraph, or whatever else one may call the thing, which has been published under the title of his speech, we may, indeed, say as Lord Thurlow said of the pleading of the sessions lawyers, that it was like a taylor's goose, hot and heavy. — An amendment to the address was proposed in the House of Lords, and eight peers, amongst whom was Lord Erskine, entered a protest; but, no division took place in either House; and, it is pretty certain, that, if a division had been called for, the ministers would have had a majority of three, if not of four, to one. The fact is, that the opposition, as it is called, has fallen into general disrepute as a political party. The people have no confidence in it. They feel not at all interested in any of its proceedings. There exists no hope or expectation from the efforts of an opposition now. That party feeling, which used, some years ago, to extend itself through the people, was nearly extinguished in a few months after Mr. Fox came into office, and that part of it which remained during his life, went out, like the snuff of a candle, at his death. The party feeling that now exists is confined to the mere retainers of those who are struggling for place. In short, *party*, such as it used to be, is no more; the people are no longer its dupes. Speaking of them in general, they see the matter in its true light. Two sets of men opposed to each other only while they are upon the boards of the House, the opposition being absolutely necessary to those great ends, which it would be waste of time for me to attempt to describe. — For these reasons, we shall, I think, have a very uninteresting session of parliament. The Morning Chronicle would fain have persuaded us, that the public looked forward to the meeting with that anxiety, which is always felt by men, who are waiting to know their fate. The public looked forward to it not at all. There was no public anxiety about it. The public well knew, that what the ministry had done, and what they would do, the parliament would sanction; and, that, of course, the same measures would be adopted, whether the parliament met or not. Where, then, was there any reason for anxiety about the meeting of parliament? — II.

Mr. Sheridan, on the 25th instant, gave notice, that, on Monday sen'night, he should make a motion for the appointment of a committee "to inquire into the nature and grounds of the existing grievances in Ireland." What it may be Mr. Sheridan's intention to effect by this motion, I know not; but, I am satisfied, that something ought to be done for Ireland. Yet, it is to deceive ourselves most grossly to suppose, that Ireland, that a country of miserable people, is to be quieted and made happy by an act of parliament, enabling about thirty or forty of the rich Roman Catholics to hold offices under the crown. Besides, with what face can the out faction bring forward this proposition now, when it is well known, that, in the hope of keeping their places, they withdrew it, during the short parliament? If it was proper to be adopted, why withdraw it then? And, if not proper to be adopted, why propose it now? Why, if not purely for the purpose of embarrassing the ministers? I do not say, observe, that it ought not to be proposed, and adopted, though I have very little faith in its efficacy; but, I do insist, that for the out faction to bring it, or any thing like it, forward now, when we know, that, at the mere suggestion of the king, they suppressed it, even after it came before parliament, when they themselves were in power, would be a proceeding as scandalously factious as any that ever was heard of. If they had remained in office; if the king had not turned them out, these measures about Ireland would no more have been thought of by them, except as the means of preventing them from being brought forward; they had been completely hushed by the royal command; but now they are working up and fomenting and inflaming, in every direction. The language of their principal publication, the Edinburgh Review, as it is still called, is that of a downright incendiary; it is addressed to the passions of the most blind and violent of the Irish; and, this is the conduct of men, while in office, were ready, at the nod of the king, to postpone, for an indefinite term, even the first little thing that they had proposed in favour of Ireland! — III. On the 25th instant, Mr. Banks moved for leave to bring in a bill to prevent, in future, the grant of Places in Reversion, or survivorship. This bill, it will be recollected, passed the House of Commons last year, and was thrown out by the Lords. The motion was opposed by Mr. William Dundas, who denied, that reversions were, in general, granted to unworthy persons, and who was answered by Mr. Whitbread, in a short speech

worth the perusal of every man in the country. He said, "it was but grateful in that right hon. gentleman, as he had been considerably indebted to reversions himself, and if he (Mr. W.) was not mistaken, was now in expectancy of one; the zeal of the right hon. gentleman against this mode of reform, might, therefore, be easily accounted for. The right hon. gentleman, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had been an infant when he got the grant of a place in reversion, now held by his noble relative, lord Arden, who had obtained it in the same way; there were many other instances in that house, and surely this called for legislative interference. The post granted in reversion to the Chancellor of the Exchequer was a most lucrative one, but yet required no other talent to fill it, than that of knowing how to count the money it produced so gratuitously.—It is good to hear them talk thus of one another. The facts are pretty notorious; but, still, their repeating of them is useful.—Sir John Newport stated, that a reform in the custom-house department of Ireland had long been wanted; but, that it had not yet been effected, and could not, because a reversionary grant of a place stood in the way.—There was a Mr. Horner, who followed Sir John Newport, and who, after some preliminary matter, said that "he thought this measure the more valuable, because it was a measure of reform, and that, perhaps, was the very reason of the honourable gentleman's opposition to it." I was much pleased to hear this from a good plain man, who evidently was not born to delude the world by his eloquence, and who, doubtless, recommended himself to his constituents by the known independence of his situation and character. It well became such a man to stand forward, upon an occasion like this, and gravely espouse those principles of reform," which, in the way of justifying their patrons of the late ministry, that lot of little shoe-less Scotch hirelings, the Edinburgh Reviewers, have held up to contempt and ridicule. How must shock a man of such apparent single-heartedness, as Mr. Horner to find, upon his arrival in London, that there are men, who absolutely sell the use of their pens and their fingers and their brains, and receive, for the price, such or such a sum of the public money, in such or such a shape, and who have, all the while, the unconscionable impudence to call themselves patriots. How must it offend his plain good sense to hear, of the late ministry, whose partizans ex-

tolled them for the possession of great talents, and some of whom did possess great talents; to hear, that many of the members of that ministry had, as to practical purposes, no more power than their chambermaids, the real movers being a set of interested adventurers, well skilled in the art of disputation, industrious from necessity, and by nature flatterers of the great. How it must have disgusted such a good, hearty, frank man as Mr. Horner appears to be, to see a doughy, sodden faced, soft-headed "great man" surrounded with a swarm of these political parasites, leagued together to flatter him out of their food, and to laugh at him behind his back. But, what must have most provoked such a man as Mr. Horner, was, to find, that these literary locusts had actually begun to eat up the fruits of the people's labour; that they had, through the means of their silly patrons, begun to creep into offices and sinecures, and that, in some cases, it appeared impossible to get them out, without totally destroying the places into which they had crept, and, with those places, to destroy no inconsiderable part of the building, which all men would wish to see remain untouched. Such a good, honest hearted, simple-minded man as Mr. Horner appears to be must have been so shocked at all this as to make him almost repent of having, though only for a few months, quitted those paternal estates, which he, doubtless, possesses in some part of the country, where his absence must be severely felt.—With respect to the bill itself, I greatly approve of the principles of it, though I cannot see any great good that it would produce, unless accompanied with a restriction as to the granting of new places and pensions for life; for, we may be assured, that, if the reversion source be cut off, larger draughts will be made upon that of pensions. Besides, I am not quite satisfied, as to the motive of the late ministers, in proposing this measure; and, to say the truth, I am of opinion, that, as far as they are concerned, the main object is, to prevent the present king from granting away what ought to fall into the hands of his successor; to which successor they now look as their only, though distant hope. This circumstance should be borne in mind, when we are estimating the "public spirit," attributed to the proposing of the measure in question. I dislike the measure, too, because it will deceive some people, by leading them to believe that reforms in the expenditure are hereby begun; for, it must be evident to every one, at all acquainted with the mat-

ter, that no such reforms are, by either party, intended, or wished for.

AMERICAN STATES.—An act which shall be inserted in the next sheet, has been passed by the Congress, laying an embargo upon all American shipping, in their own ports, with a view, as they pretend, of making *all* the belligerent nations feel the effects of the measures which those nations have, respectively, adopted with respect to the American commerce. "We can no longer sail the sea in safety," say they, "let us, therefore, shut up our ports, lay up our ships, and thus punish the tyrants for their injustice towards us." This language differs somewhat from what we heard about six weeks ago. Instead of invading Nova Scotia and Jamaica, the heroes of the Atlantic draw themselves into their shell, and wait with patience for the effect of the privations, which they fancy themselves in a state to inflict. The embargo, laid, during last war, lasted only about six weeks, at the end of which time the whole country was nearly in a state of commotion. While it lasts now, there can be no revenue, except from the cargoes, on board of ships which have not yet arrived; and, I must beg the reader to bear in mind, that there are no internal taxes, no taxes except those collected at the custom-house upon *foreign* goods; for, twenty thousand pounds a year, which is about the sum collected from internal resources, is, in fact, nothing at all. The Congress think, however, that this measure will have an effect upon us; but, I am decidedly of opinion, that even our West India colonies are able to hold out a year, and more, without any supplies from the American States; and, I am quite sure, that they cannot keep in their ships for three months. I should suppose, that the passing of this embargo law has, at once, added a third, at least, to the price of all European goods and all West India produce, and this, too, observe, at a time when taxes, if raised at all, must be laid upon internal objects. What must be the consequence of a long continuation of this embargo any one may easily guess. Yet, an embargo was the only means of preventing the loss of all their shipping, unless, indeed, they had chosen to do what reason and justice dictated, namely, to demand a rescinding of the French decrees, and, if refused, to join us in the war against France. This their rancour against us prevented them from doing; and, of course, they adopted the measure of an embargo.—These modern Dutch have, at last, fallen a victim to their own greediness and envy. They took delight in

seeing war desolate Europe; and they vainly hoped to continue to profit from the miseries of all other nations. It was owing to them, that the wars in St. Domingo were so long and so bloody. They carried provisions to both parties. They supplied both with powder, ball, and all the means of mutual destruction. While some of them hired their vessels, at an enormous price, to carry off the fugitive masters and mistresses, others got possession of their plate and jewels, through the means of a jew-like commerce with the revolted slaves. There was not a town or settlement destroyed, in the pillage of which they did not share. From Cape Francois they carried off the ornaments of the magnificent church, which was there burnt to the ground; and, I remember seeing, at Wilmington, in the State of Delaware, the marble slabs, that were taken up from before the altar piece. The vulgar wives of the unfeeling villains, who commanded their ships, were seen swaggering about, in the years 1792, 3, and 4, with the rings and snuff-boxes and ear-bobs and bracelets of the once-opulent inhabitants of the Cape, who not unfrequently recognized their valuables upon the persons of the new possessors. A whole casket was sometimes obtained from the negroes in exchange for a barrel of flour. Men, not worth a dollar, were, by means like these, suddenly elevated to great wealth, and now form no inconsiderable part of the great men of that virtuous republican country. This line of conduct has, at last produced the effects which we now see, and I am not at all disposed to lament their existence.—In the debate upon the King's speech, the Earl of Galloway said:—"My Lords, I wish it was possible to animadvert with satisfaction upon the conduct of the United States of America; local knowledge obtained by me at the early periods of the French revolution, enables me to form a very decided opinion with respect to that country, and I am sorry to say, my Lords, I cannot form a flattering one. I am, however, happy to learn, by the tenor of the speech, that it is not the intention of his Majesty's government to concede one point more to that illiberal and prejudiced people. My Lords, we must make a stand somewhere; and where can we do it better than in defence of our seamen and our trade, which they unambiguously demand. If America prefer a French alliance to British connection, it is not in your Lordships' power to contravene her choice, nor can you prevent that war, which I do not wish to see take place, but

which
am
ment
racte
Wit
peak
I ma
diced
small
Maje
ever,
cy of
the
natio
gover
as me
that
ships
selve
Lord
fined
that
rial in
after
sentime
officer.
cans, an
I am n
embargo
an act
that it h
ing us,
by us a
consider
however
will not
and, in
their col
its new
The qua
into Spa
visions c
produce
of coffe
We all
comfort
these co
the usu
other, v
having t
sea. If
year or
jury to
nations
will ack
dominic
In one
Americ
product
with res
Lord H

[173] which, if it does take place, my Lords, I am confident if pursued by us with judgment, and reference to the American character and situation, no man need fear. With respect to the affair of the Chesapeake frigate, my Lords, as a naval officer, I may be permitted to be a little prejudiced, and to hold an opinion in some small degree, differing, perhaps, from his Majesty's government. It is not, however, my intention to dispute the accuracy of the proclamation lately issued; nor the principle of respect which is due to national ships of war, as applicable to the governments and nations of Europe: but as merited by America, if all the detail of that transaction was before your Lordships, I am inclined to think you yourselves would question. However, my Lords, while the American navy is confined to a few frigates, the compensation that has been made may not be of material import; how far it may affect us hereafter, time only can shew."—These sentiments are worthy of an English naval officer. Lord Galloway knows the Americans, and, of any one who does know them, I am never afraid of the opinion.—The embargo is not, perhaps, strictly speaking, an act of hostility; yet, when it is evident, that it has been determined on only as affecting us, or only in consequence of measures by us adopted, we should have a right to consider it as an act of hostility. That, however, would not be wise. The embargo will not, for a long time, do us any harm; and, in the meanwhile, France, Spain, and their colonies, not forgetting Portugal under its new masters, will suffer most severely. The quantity of American produce, carried into Spain and Portugal, was immense: Provisions of all sorts, the want of which will produce terrible effects. Nor will the want of coffee and sugar be lightly felt, in France. We all know how considerable a part of the comforts of the people consist in the use of these commodities. *We* have them still, in the usual abundance, and, in one way or other, we prevent the rest of Europe from having them. This is real dominion of the sea. If this state of things continue for a year or two, which it may without any injury to us, the merchant ships of all other nations will be rotten, and the whole world will acknowledge, that we have a maritime dominion in reality as well as in name.—In one respect, however, the embargo, in America, will, in all human probability, be productive of serious consequences: I mean with respect to the "monish" of our late Lord High Chancellor, whose protest is, I

perceive, just published, in a pamphlet, by that worthy fellow-labourer, Mr. James Perry of the Morning Chronicle. The "monish" was, indeed, transferred into American hands; but, as I have before observed, it would not, previous to the embargo, have been an easy matter to transmit it to England. Now, it will be impossible, until, at least, the embargo be removed, and then the monish will not be worth above ten shillings in the pound. This is a striking instance of the imperfection of human foresight, though possessed in the highest known degree. One would have thought, now, that this monish, lodged in a country, so distant from the seat of war, so free from all the dangers of invasion and of public bankruptcy, and watched over, withal, by a relation so near and dear to the proprietor and so well situated for the obtaining of that intelligence that would enable him to prevent the effects of every untoward event; one would have thought, that monish thus situated was beyond the reach of chance. But, alas! there arise, all of a sudden, event after event, that render its situation as perilous as that of a purse, hung out upon a tree by the highway side. It is very singular, too, and must naturally be somewhat provoking, that while the fund-monish in America is become of such depreciated value, the value of the funds, in England, not only holds its own, but is actually increasing. The pension, however, of four thousand good pounds a year, which the noble Baron Erskine is to receive for life, out of the taxes in England, the Americans cannot touch. That, and also the pension for life, which the Baron's worthy son will, doubtless, receive out of the taxes, when he comes home, are safe in spite of all embargoes. Mr. Lyon cannot lay his merciless fingers upon them. They, as Mr. Fox said, are as sacred as house and land.—It is rather singular, that Mr. Perry of the Morning Chronicle, who has said so much about American affairs, should never have said a word, even by way of parenthesis, about Baron Erskine's monish. The letters of A. B. which I am positively assured were written by a nobleman, or, at least, by a person having a *title*, suggested numerous evils, that must arise from a war with America; but that of a stoppage of fund-monish appears never to have occurred to him. Did he forget it? Hardly. But, he thought perhaps, that it was something beneath his consideration. The "*maniac*," however, did not omit to mention it.—There is, at present, little more to be said about the Americans. Like a snail, they have drawn themselves

within their shell; and, as it will not be worth our while to attempt to crush them, they will push out their heads again, by and by, and will have lost all the arrogance that they formerly discovered. Their intention may, however, be to get in all their ships, and then to send out privateers. We must, therefore, be upon our guard. It will not be amiss to give our commander, upon the Halifax station, orders to place a ship, of some sort, near the mouth of each of their principal rivers, with an order strictly to search every ship that is bound inwards, and to proclaim, that, if any one chooses to go out, bound to any part of the English dominions, she shall have free and safe passage. But, great care should be taken not to let any ship go off for the dominions of the enemy.—This is all, which, at present, it is necessary for us to do, except, perhaps, the issuing of a declaration, on the part of the king, offering the Americans advantageous terms of trade with us, during the war, provided they will have nothing to do with our enemies.—The present appears to be an excellent time for crushing the French faction in America. The election, which will come on soon, in consequence of Mr. Jefferson's notification of not standing another contest, will divide the people, upon the question of "war, or no war;" and, if the "no war" party prevail, the French faction is put down for many years to come.

INDIA HEMP.—It is stated, in the newspapers, that the ministers have entered into a contract with the East India Company to supply our dock-yards with hemp. This contract it is morally impossible for them to fulfil; but, I greatly fear, that it will be made the ground of a terrible demand upon the taxes of England. The affairs of that company are in a state that can no longer be disguised. They must come again to parliament for money. The unreasonableness, the injustice of this, will be evident to every man; but, the hemp argument will be made all-powerful. We shall be told, that we cannot have hemp without supporting the Company; and, that, without hemp, our navy cannot be supported. The hemp ought to be grown here, in England, where we have plenty of land and plenty of hands. To be dependent upon India would be worse than to be dependent upon Russia. In short, this hemp contract, if the report be true, will prove a most alarming evil.

PORTUGUESE EMIGRATION.—Already, we are told, that a hundred thousand pounds, taken out of the taxes of England, has been

sent off, in specie, to the Brazils, to assist her most faithful majesty. This is only a little beginning. We shall have to pay half a million a year for this emigration, in one way or another. It will be a continual drain upon us. And, this, after all, is the result of that "glorious event," which was to produce so much good to England! When will this commercial and colonising rage cease to beggar and enslave us? Never, till the political corruptions, which are found to be so conveniently carried on through the medium of commercial and colonial associations, are, by a radical change, banished from the state. When that may be, I know not. I lament to say, that I do not, at present, perceive the elements of such a change; and I must content myself with the hope, that, somehow or other, they will arise out of the present disordered state of things.

BANK OF ENGLAND PATRIOTISM.—An odd association of words, the reader will say; but, he will have seen, in the newspapers, a long statement respecting the generous intention of the Bank "to come," as it is called, "to the assistance of the country." It was my intention to have made some remarks upon the real nature of this generous intention; in the letter, however, which will be found below, this task has been executed in a manner much better than I could hope to have executed it. I, therefore, point out this letter, as being well worthy of the attention of the public, who ought to keep a watchful eye upon all the transactions between the ministry and the Bank, transactions in which the disposition of millions of money is involved. It is curious enough, that both the parties the *ins* and the *outs*, claim the honour of this proposed "*saving*" to the public. The reader will see what sort of a saving it is; and, I would fain hope, that there will be found some few members of parliament, who will have the courage to speak of the transaction in appropriate terms,

Westminster, 29th January, 1808.

BANK OF ENGLAND PATRIOTISM.

SIR;—As you have not hitherto noticed the second Report from the committee on Public Expenditure relating to the Bank of England, I beg leave to send you a few observations on the facts disclosed in that paper. Difficult as it is to follow any branch of the public accounts of this country through the endless mass of intended intricacy and expanded confusion, in which they are involved, it is still more difficult so to manage them in argument, as to leave

any hope of their arresting the attention of the public; nor should I have made the attempt in this instance, but from a thorough conviction, that the Bank of England is not entitled to the character of patriotism, which is so often vaunted on its behalf; and, that any man who will lend his assistance to extort from it even a few additional thousands, will, in the present state of the country, be rendering a real service to the people.—In commenting, however, on the report, it will be impossible to pass over the conduct of the House of Commons. If, on the one hand, it should clearly appear, that the Bank has been uniformly actuated by a sordid love of growing profit, it will be not less manifest on the other, that, although those profits have been continually pressed on the attention of the House of Commons, they have as constantly been passed over with a degree of neglect, that, in private life, would approach to criminality.—You will recollect, Sir, that in the year 1802, Mr. H. Thornton, who two years before, as Governor of the Bank, had suggested and negotiated with Mr. Pitt the renewal of the Bank charter, published a work on paper credit, in which there are the following passages. p. 68. “The proprietors of the Bank themselves are not likely to approve of any dangerous extension of their own paper; both they and the directors know the importance of confining the Bank paper, generally speaking, within its accustomed limits, and must necessarily be supposed to prefer its credit, and the paper credit of the nation, to the comparatively trifling consideration of a small increase in their own dividends;” and again, p. 146. “There can be no doubt that the credit of the Bank of England has been at all periods most anxiously consulted by its directors, and that present profit has uniformly been only the second consideration.” I cite these two passages merely to prove for the present, how repeatedly a patriotic liberality of sentiment has been urged on the part of the Bank in this particular; and, I now beg your attention while I proceed to the more important point of estimating their profits.—The various sources from which they are stated to arise are taken from the report itself, except only the seventh and eighth items, which are supplied from probable conjecture; but, the reporters themselves, with a caution, which on such occasions usually characterises their productions, have not stated the total probable gross amount: according to my calculation, it is as follows:

1. From the interest on their capital lent to government, £11,686,000 at 3 per cent. £350,580
2. From the management of the public debt on the 5th January, 1807. 265,818
3. From the allowance for the Austrian loan. 5,687
4. From the annual allowance for the house. 4,000
5. From the allowance on the S. Sea purchase. 1,898
6. From the allowance on loans and lotteries averaged during the last 15 years, at per ann. 20,000
7. From the interest on their undivided capital stated in 1797 at £3,800,000, at 5 per cent. 190,000
8. From the interest on the floating cash balances of the merchants, taken at £1,000,000, at 5 per cent 50,000
9. From the interest on government average balances, stated by the report at £11,000,000, at 5 per cent 550,000
10. From the interest on their notes in circulation on the 1st February, 1807, £16,621,390, at 5 per cent 831,069

Making a total gross profit of £2,269,052

Before we dismiss these items, however, it will be necessary to make a few remarks on them. The first five articles can admit of no dispute. The sixth, namely, the profits on loans and lotteries, will only embrace a difference of two or three thousands per annum, and therefore is not worth disputing. The seventh, of undivided capital, is obviously similar in all respects, so far as regards the question of profit to a deposit, as it can make no difference, so as the capital is there, whether it be advanced by the government, by the merchants, or by the Bank itself. The eighth and ninth items of balances are properly called deposits, and are so admitted to be, and the tenth I fear, of the notes themselves, it will hereafter appear, is not less a deposit account than the other three.—But, it should not be suppressed, that although the report considers the balances and the notes as both productive of profit, the Bank itself does not admit that the balances are any further productive than as they tend to augment the amount of notes in circulation. The reporters, therefore, labour this point, and though it is still involved in some little obscurity, because

it embraces a knowledge of the manner in which the business of the Bank is conducted, and over which the directors have always studiously thrown a veil, yet sufficient is shewn to prove, that the balances most materially increase the profits; and it is certainly possible to shew, what is highly probable in itself, that they may increase them to the full extent of their amount.—What, for instance, should prevent the Bank from holding one set of securities, of a nature permanent and not negotiable, for the amount of their undivided capital and the average amount of the balances in their hands, and another set of a more current nature, for the amount of their notes in circulation?—Mr. Thornton expressly states, that there is a fallacy in the use of the term deposit, under which head the balances are classed, and that it is equally applicable to the amount of the notes in circulation, which he accordingly calls disposeable effects: and why should it not be also applicable to the undivided capital? Or, why should not one deposit pay an interest as well as another?—Deducting the amount of bullion, consisting probably of a few prize kegs of Spanish dollars, and a little gold for the service of government, what should prevent the Bank from making an interest of capital, balances, and notes, in short, of all the securities of all kinds which they can accumulate, except their own discretion?—Is it that the government, or the merchants, are so rich that the Bank can never find a borrower when they want one, or that the market is so bare of exchequer bills, that they can never find a seller, if required?—And what possible necessity can ever now exist for government paying up their advance?—Even in the year 1797, the amount on which the Bank gained an interest, exceeded the amount of their notes in circulation by three fourths. It exceeded, too, the joint amount of notes, and the deposit account or balances; and, if ever then, (when they were liable to pay in cash) the amount of the advances, on which they received an interest from government alone, exceeded the amount of their notes in circulation by one fourth, what probable limit may be affixed to those advances now, when they are withheld by the fear of no consequences, but what are of a remote operation, and in case of unlooked for events, are morally sure of a ministerial indemnity.—The only difficulty in the case seems to consist in conceiving how any banker can gain an interest on the security deposited and the note circulated at the same time, as the security is the medium, through which

the interest is gained; but if the reporters had found it convenient to state the amount of the securities, held by the Bank, on which they gain an interest, it would easily have appeared, that the amount of those securities infinitely exceeded the amount of the notes in circulation, and were no measure whatever of those notes, and it is even very possible to put a case to shew how the Bank may be gaining a double profit on the same sum at the same time.—Suppose, for instance, that the cash balances, accumulating and lying in the exchequer from day to day, were actually appropriated to the payment of the dividends as they came in, that is to say, that no notes should be, in any manner, reissued in lieu of those cancelled by the cash balances, except in payment of the dividends; now, as the notes in circulation would evidently decrease in the same proportion in which the cash balances increased, one could scarcely consider those cash balances as yielding a profit to the Bank; but if those cash balances, as they accrued from day to day, should be (as they are) exchanged for exchequer bills bearing an interest, and at the same time should furnish (as they might) the means of making the usual advances on omnium bearing an interest also, which advances would, I presume, be only drawn by government from day to day as they were wanted, it is clear that those cash balances, merely by means of an interior arrangement, might furnish the Bank with the means of accommodating two sets of customers with the same sum at the same time, from both of whom they might be receiving an interest, and that too, without necessarily increasing the amount of notes in circulation, as the advances on omnium might not be immediately drawn, and of course without diminishing their power of making advances in other respects.—But, Sir, if the evidence of the report should fail to shew that the gross profits of this establishment very much exceed two millions per annum, although it was stated by Mr. Pitt on the renewal of the charter in 1800, that they would not probably exceed £400,000 per annum, yet it certainly does not fail to shew the enormous amount of those profits. “For some successive years,” says the report, “an annual and temporary bonus of 5 per cent has been added to the accustomed dividend of seven per cent;” that is to say, for some successive years the Bank proprietors have been receiving 12 per cent interest for their money. But why did not the report tell us for how many successive years? How long was it after the renewal of their charter by

Mr. Pitt these bills
Thornton
and now
his words
from which
extract
cessary
per cent
into a
gained
he pro
“the
“ven
“mit
“pri
“hab
“bee
“easi
“By
“hav
“tinu
“and
“whi
“in b
“the
“tion
“has
“for
“the
“adv
“add
“hav
“lion
“yea
“cha
“tha
“Bar
“can
“her
“inv
“cou
“larg
“pri
Amor
higher
not a
any bo
dends
suffici
invest
sary,
due ti
that
ment
why
the un
Parlia
the ar
memb
speak

Mr. Pitt in 1800, that they began to divide these bonuses? How long was it after Mr. Thornton, the governor, who suggested and negotiated that renewal, had published his work on paper credit, dated in 1802, from which, I must trouble you with another extract; p. 151. After stating that the necessary profit of a bank must be at least six per cent, and gently sliding the argument into a supposition that the Bank might have gained seven, or eight, or nine, per cent. he proceeds thus: "If the whole profits of the Bank had been lately restricted to seven per cent. they would have been limited to that sum which the Bank proprietors had been for some time in the habit of receiving.—They would have been confined to a sum which would not easily have admitted of accumulation. By obtaining a higher profit the directors have secured to the proprietors the continuation of the same regular dividends, and have thus prevented that uncertainty which would have encouraged gambling in bank stock. They have also made, in the course of years, an important addition to their capital, an addition which has caused it to maintain nearly an uniform proportion to the growing extent of the transactions of the Bank, and to the advancing commerce of the country, an addition also by the help of which they have lately lent to government three millions without interest, for a short term of years, as the price of the renewal of their charter. They have thus strengthened that security which the creditors of the Bank possess, so far as additional capital can strengthen it, and they will be able hereafter, if it shall seem necessary, to invest in gold, in addition to what they could otherwise have invested, a much larger sum than they could with any propriety, have so invested in time past." Among all these good reasons for making a higher profit than seven per cent. not a word, not a hint is dropped about the prospect of any bonuses, or a future increase of dividends; but the Bank, it seems, have taken sufficient care not to add to their ability of investing in gold, (when it shall seem necessary, forsooth) by dividing their profits in due time. And will Mr. Thornton say that that dividend furnishes no moral impediment to such an investment? Again, Sir, why did not the report notice the amount of the undivided capital as well as the bonuses? Parliament would then have better known the amount of their profits. I do not remember that Mr. Thornton's book ever speaks of that capital as greater than it

was five years before, viz: in the year 1797, when it was stated at £3,800,000, although Mr. Thornton so early as the year 1800, saw the propriety of getting a renewal of the charter, 12 years being then unexpired. Why, too, did not the report notice the commutation of the Bank with government in lieu of stamps, taken I believe at £30,000 per annum, when I have been credibly informed by a gentleman concerned in only two out of the 518 Country Banks 100 now existing in the country, that his two concerns alone paid not less than 1500 per annum for that purpose, a sum equal to a twentieth part of the Bank payment.—But, it is not the interest alone of the Bank stock, which should fasten on our attention.—That, we are told, is a trifling consideration: let us then look to the principal.—In the month of June 1797, only ten years ago, the stock of the bank was at 115½ and now the report states it at 230, a rise in ten years of one hundred per cent.—And what greater risque I should be glad to ask, does the proprietor of Bank stock run than the proprietor of the three per cents? Why should the one receive a full dividend of ten per cent, with the prospect of additional bonuses on what was worth only 115½ in the year 1797, while the other only receives £2, 14s. on what was then worth 40½. What establishment in England besides the Bank has for several successive years, divided by half yearly payments, a profit of 12 per cent, and at the same time doubled the value of its capital? But the Bank of England, Mr. Thornton tells us, is quite independent of the executive government, and so are the directors too, I dare swear, all independent.—He tells us, too, when speaking of the trifling consideration of the dividends (but it is in a note), that a large proportion of the Bank proprietors do not hold more than £1000 stock.—He forgets however to tell us how much in general the directors hold.—When there are accrued bonuses of five per cent for several successive years, one would think that there must be some secrets in the direction worth knowing, notwithstanding the dividends are such a trifling consideration. Would it be very uncharitable to suppose, that if any one of that direction were in the constant habit of proffering a set of laboured reasons for his uniform support of all ministers of all parties, that such a director's line of Bank stock might furnish one of those mighty good reasons? Could not Mr. Thornton have dissipated the surprize expressed by his old friend Mr. Tierney in the debates on the renewal of the charter "that it was strange that though the salary of a director was only

£150 the office was aspired to by the richest men in the kingdom, and more eagerly sought after than any one in the gift of the crown ;" but Mr. Thornton, I believe, was absent from that debate?—Did the good old lady's dear departed Cicisbeo, the late Mr. Abraham Newland, too, hold only £1000 Bank stock? The curiosity of the town has been lately gratified with the particulars of that gentleman's will, by which it seems that tho' a mere groom of the chamber all his life time, he has left property behind him to the amount of £7000 per annum : but he, too, I presume had a full share of the old lady's bonuses.—Again Sir, Dr. Smith has long ago told us, that the stability of the Bank of England is equal to that of the English government; and who is there that doubts it? Without any question, the natural durability of the present paper system will go high to render them both eternal.—But then again I ask, why should the Bank proprietor who has the same security as the proprietor of the 3 per cents, have any preference over him since the year 1797.—Why should the Bank have an annual premium of three per cent paid to them never to pay in gold any more? Why should they reap the benefit of their own avarice and misconduct at the expence of every other class of the public creditors.—Why should they get their Income Tax paid, by profits arising out of the balance which they hold by stopping the income tax of the other public creditors? The Bank I am sure, will not contend that the price of their stock has been increased by the depreciation of their paper, because although there might be some truth in the argument, it would not be very convenient when applied to the holders of the other stocks, who having suffered full sorely from the effects of that depreciation in other respects, are nevertheless stripped of a tenth of its depreciated value.—But, Sir, the Bank have never missed an opportunity of increasing or confirming their growing profits. To prove this, it will be only necessary to take a short review of the opinions of parliament as expressed in their own reports.—By the report of the committee of finance in 1797, it appears that so early as the year 1726 the sum of £360 per million was chosen upon the express ground of being a reasonable compensation for the charges of management.—Within seventeen years afterwards however, the Bank had managed to raise it to £562 : 10s per million, at which sum it continued till the year 1786.—In that year it was reduced : to £450 per million, although the commissioners of public accounts then stated upon full deliberation, that £350 per mil-

lion was very sufficient compensation, and although it had been previously stated by the auditors of public accounts, that the business might be done for £187 10s. per million.—So early then in Mr. Pitt's career as the year 1786, it appears that he had not public virtue enough left to carry the report of his own commissioners into effect :—That even then he had begun to feed and flatter the avarice of the Bank of England.—And was the sequel of his career less prodigal? In the year 1791, only five years after the report of 1786 had deemed the allowance for management excessive, the Bank would not even part with a balance of unclaimed dividends without having that allowance confirmed on the existing debt, and, accordingly, the same act of parliament which granted the unclaimed dividends confirmed the excessive rate.—By this well-timed largess in a season of approaching difficulty, and at the same time by omitting to make any stipulation for the rate of allowance on any future debt, Mr. Pitt well knew that he was not only rewarding the Bank for their past support, but that he was also gaining a security for their good behaviour in the expectation of a similar rate of excessive allowance for the future, and accordingly the rate of 450 per million passed unnoticed till the year 1797.—In that year the memorable stoppage, the natural death of the Bank, took place, and Mr. Pitt's committee of finance again expressed a strong opinion that £360 per million was a sufficient compensation for the management of the public debt ; but again Mr. Pitt and Parliament in his wake passed over with neglect the suggestion of their own committee.—So the matter rested till the year 1800, when Mr. Thornton, probably seeing the growing profits of the bank, with the provident caution of an experienced captain, set about securing the mouth of the cave before he would proceed to a division of the plunder. He, therefore, on the part of the bank came to an agreement with the minister for a further renewal of the charter for 21 years, the bank consenting as a consideration for the extended charter to furnish government with a loan of 3,000,000, for six years without interest; but, at the same time taking care to exact a promise, that the public balances should not be withdrawn without compensation. The result of this agreement therefore, was, that as even at that time the average amount of the balances was fully equal to the amount of the loan, the bank, in fact, obtained an extension of their charter for 21 years for nothing, and in addition thereto got the allowance of 450 per million

on the
by parl
in silen
till the
I pass
annum
that rep
rious p
contain
time of
" the l
" prof
" debt
" adve
" of al
" parti
" docu
" opin
" this
" fully
" the t
" viou
" out
" tion,
" atten
" may
" so la
" the
miserab
been,
times b
ministr
and aga
report o
teen ye
increas
and his
stale an
conduct
or profi
the hist
on read
land is
House
gilant g
they ca
acknow
hourly
to pass
their ov
guage,
the fate
be mor
thing n
sands f
fresh co
present
the ban
of sever

* T
to Cobb

on the then increased debt again confirmed by parliament; or, rather, again passed over in silence; and in silence it has remained till the publication of the present report, for I pass over the paltry sop of £60,000 per annum thrown to the public in 1806. Of that report, however, by far the most curious part is the studied apology which it contains for the conduct of Mr. Pitt at the time of the renewal.—“The circumstance of “the bank” (says the report) “gaining a “profit by the management of the public “debt, appears to have been in some degree “adverted to, but the propriety of the rate “of allowance then subsisting did not come “particularly under consideration. The “documents necessary to form a correct “opinion upon the complicated concerns of “this extensive business, were probably not “fully before either of the two parties at “the time of this agreement, as it is obvious that they cannot be collected without considerable and detailed investigation, nor digested without industry and attention, and the pressure of other duties may well account for a want of leisure for so laborious a research at the period of “the renewal of the charter.” What a miserable subterfuge! The documents had been, or ought to have been already three times before parliament during his own administration. Once in 1786, again in 1791, and again in 1797. It was but carrying the report of his own commissioners made fourteen years before, and with fourteen years of increased debt to strengthen it, into effect; and his memory might have been spared this stale and shuffling apology. And shall such conduct be deemed not criminally negligent, or profusely corrupt?—Such, Sir, has been the history of the present Report*; and who, on reading it, will say that the Bank of England is a patriotic corporation, or that the House of Commons are the virtuous and vigilant guardians of the public purse? Before they can even set about correcting an evil of acknowledged magnitude, and daily and hourly increasing, twenty years are suffered to pass away, and three different reports of their own body all breathing the same language, are received and disregarded.—May the fate of the present, of the fourth report, be more auspicious. May it produce something more to the people than a few thousands from the unclaimed dividends, and a fresh confirmation or the old neglect of the present rate of allowance. May it oblige the bank to recur back to their old dividend of seven per cent. and in preventing them

from taking advantage of their own misconduct, may it place them on an equitable footing with the other creditors of the public. But, I confess, Sir, that notwithstanding the indication of an approaching storm in Threadneedle Street, which the Report seems calculated to raise, notwithstanding the hints and interviews and conferences and paragraphs, that are daily paraded to the eye on this business, I do not see that the barometer of the bank, the price of its stock, at all gives way, I do not perceive that any fears are entertained in the penetration of this grand temple of corruption for the safety of its present profits. The present price of its stock is above 226, and the directors, it should seem, place a firm reliance on their knowledge of the men they have to deal with. Of those men I shall not for the present say much. I will say, however, that if they should receive the directors of the bank with as firm a front, as they seem disposed to receive the external enemies of their country, they will so far, at least, deserve the thanks of the people. As soon as the report is disposed of, I shall request permission through the medium of your Register, to follow up the subject a little farther.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,—H. B.—*Lewes, Jan. 21, 1808.*

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

AMERICAN STATES.—*Non-importation Act, passed 18th April, 1806.—Together with a Supplementary Act, passed about 10th Dec. 1807.*

(Concluded from p. 160.)

Sec. 8. And be it further enacted, that all penalties and forfeiture arising under this act may be sued for and recovered, and shall be distributed and accounted for in the manner prescribed by the act, entitled “an Act to regulate the collection of duties on Imports and Tonnage:” and such penalties and forfeitures may be examined, mitigated, or remitted in like manner, and under the like conditions, regulations, and restrictions as are prescribed, authorised, and directed by the act, entitled “an act to provide for mitigating or remitting the forfeitures, penalties and disabilities, accruing in certain cases therein mentioned.”

Supplementary Act.

Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America, in congress assembled, that nothing in the act to which this is a supplement, shall be so construed as to prohibit the importation of the following articles, that is to say:—Wrappers and outside packages in which goods, the importation of which is not prohibited, usually are and shall

* The Report will be found in the Appen. to Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. 9.

be wrapped or packed at the time of their importation.—2. Bags or sacks in which salt shall be imported.—3. Glass bottles or phials, in which drugs, medicines, or any other articles, the importation of which is not prohibited, shall be imported.—4. Printed books, maps, and charts.—5. Watches, mathematical, astronomical, and surgical instruments.—6. Shallons and woollen stuffs.—Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, that the articles of the following description shall be held and considered as being embraced by the description of articles, the importation of which is prohibited by the act to which this act is a supplement, that is to say.—All articles manufactured entirely of silk and wool, or of silk and flax, or of flax and wool;—Floor cloths;—Woollen cassimeres, carpets, carpeting and mats, whose invoice prices shall exceed five shillings sterling per square yard.—Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, that whenever a doubt shall arise whether any articles imported into the United States is embraced by the description of articles the importation of which is prohibited by the act to which this act is a supplement, the comptroller's decision thereon, approved by the secretary of the treasury, shall be final and conclusive, and be taken and held in every respect as the true construction of the act.—Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, that no articles which shall be imported from any place beyond the Cape of Good Hope, on board any vessel, cleared out before the day of from any port within the United States or the territories thereof, for the said Cape of Good Hope, or any place beyond the same, shall be subject to the prohibition enacted be the act to which this act is a supplement.

JAMAICA.—*Speech of the Lt. Governor to the Council and Assembly, and the Assembly's Answer, at the Opening of the Session, in Oct. 1807.*

Influenced by an uniform desire to promote the public benefit, I have deemed it expedient to assemble the legislature at the earliest period I thought consistent with your private convenience.—I should have rejoiced, had I been enabled to congratulate you on the success of our allies on the continent of Europe: amidst their reverses, however, it is to be recollected that the resources of the British Empire remain unimpaired; and I trust that an honourable, secure, and permanent peace will be, under the blessings of Providence, attained by the firmness and moderation of his Majesty's councils, and by the valour of his fleets and armies.—I have much satisfaction in learning, that the general scarcity of provisions, recently prevalent,

is likely to be succeeded by abundance: the late seasonable rains will secure the island from a sudden return of this evil; yet I earnestly recommend your adopting the most efficacious measures for preventing the recurrence of so great a calamity. It was to me a source of very peculiar gratification, that the distress was alleviated by the effects of my proclamation, which extended the term of the intercourse with the United States of America; but the subsistence of the inhabitants should depend as little as possible on a resource so precarious as that of a supply from distant countries.—The establishing of St. Ann's Bay as a free-port, and the making of Port-Morant, Port Maria, and Falmouth, ports of entrance and clearance, are objects of great importance, and cannot be regarded otherwise than as additional proofs of his Majesty's paternal care for the welfare of his subjects in this colony.—I rely with that confidence, which the experience I have of your known liberality so well justifies, for those supplies which the exigencies of government require.—My inspection of the militia throughout the island affords me the satisfaction of making known to you the general improved state of that essential branch of our defence. Some of the regiments in particular have made considerable progress in discipline and appearance, while the laudable spirit of emulation and loyalty, which pervades the whole body, cannot fail of producing the most beneficial consequences.—The forts and batteries along the coast have already derived advantages from your wise regulation during the last session: a system of regularity, economy, and military arrangement, now exists in this establishment, which must effectually tend to the general defence of the island.—When I reflect on the great and arduous contest in which the British empire is now engaged, it were vain to conceal that our present meeting is in times of no common difficulty: from you I expect all that can be effected by public spirit, united exertions, and the sacrifice of individual interests to the general weal; from me you may rely on receiving, upon all occasions, the most cordial co-operation in every measure which is calculated to increase the public happiness, promote the prosperity, and insure the safety of this country.

Assembly's Answer.—We, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Assembly of Jamaica, beg leave to thank your honour for your speech at the opening of this session:—We are fully sensible of your honour's uniform desire to promote the public benefit, and gratefully acknowledge your attention in assembling the legislature at the

earliest period
our private
reverses
the continent
sincerely
that, as the
remain un
and permit
blessing o
—We sha
honour's
most effic
recurrence
scarcity of
which ha
the late se
own the l
proclamat
dent to a
tious as th
tries:—W
ternal car
this colon
Importanc
the free p
ance:—
granting s
governme
the existi
will justif
your hono
the militi
economy,
under you
present es
as regulat
Fully awa
time of no
fish empir
contest, a
the pressu
we are s
us to sacr
to unite c
ral weal:
confidence
cordial co
is calculat
note the
this coun

RUSSIA.—
party;
1807.

By o
the Minis
miantzoff
bargo up
we order
formed h
der the c

earliest period you thought consistent with our private convenience:—We regret the reverses which have befallen our allies on the continent of Europe; but we, however, sincerely join with your honour in the hope, that, as the resources of the British empire remain unimpaired, an honourable, secure, and permanent peace will be, under the blessing of Providence, ultimately attained:—We shall give our serious attention to your honour's recommendation of adopting the most efficacious measures for preventing the recurrence of so great a calamity as a general scarcity of provisions, recently prevalent, but which has been providentially removed by the late seasonable rains; and we gratefully own the beneficial effects of your honour's proclamation, in alleviating the distress incident to a dependence on a resource so precarious as that of a supply from distant countries:—We duly appreciate his Majesty's paternal care for the welfare of his subjects in this colony, when we contemplate the great importance of the extended establishment of the free ports and ports of entry and clearance:—Your honour may rely on our granting such supplies for the exigencies of government, as the extent of our means, and the existing circumstances of the country, will justify.—We are happy to be assured by your honour of the general improved state of the militia, and of the system of regularity, economy, and military arrangement, which, under your honour's direction, exists in the present establishment of forts and batteries, as regulated by the act of the last session:—Fully aware that our present meeting is in time of no common difficulty, when the British empire is engaged in a most arduous contest, and the colonies are suffering under the pressure of new and peculiar distresses, we are sensible, that it is incumbent upon us to sacrifice our individual interests, and to unite our greatest exertions for the general weal: and we rely with the most perfect confidence on your honour's assurance or a cordial co-operation in every measure, which is calculated to increase the happiness, promote the prosperity, and insure the safety of this country.

RUSSIA.—*Sequestration of English Property; dated at Petersburg, Nov. 19, 1807.*

By our Ukase of the 28th Oct. last, to the Minister of Commerce, Count N. Rumiantzoff, regarding the laying on an embargo upon the English property in Russia, we ordered liquidation commissions to be formed here, at Riga, and at Archangel, under the controul of the College of Com-

merce.—On the representation of the minister, that the liquidation commissions appointed in 1800, were, by their mode of conducting business of this nature, perfectly adequate to the object in view. We now order that liquidation commissions be at present appointed, in every respect, strictly according to the principles and spirit of the Ukase given the 25th of Nov. 1800, upon a report of the College of Commerce in consequence of the embargo laid that year on the property of the English, with this only alteration, that the fixed number of Russian merchants to be chosen for the liquidation commission of this plan, but not otherwise appointed than with the confirmation of the minister, and in the other towns with the confirmation of the chief authorities contiguous thereto.—The said commissioners are to take cognizance of all the goods and property of the English which were embargoed by our Ukase of the 21st (ult.) Oct. 1807; and this sequestration is to be extended to all their capital monies and bills, excepting their monies placed in our Banks, which, by the laws, are in no case to be touched. The Councillor of State, and Member of the College of Commerce, Baikoff, is to be president in the commission here.

FRENCH COMMERCIAL DECREE, signed, Napoleon, and dated at Milan, Nov. 23, 1807.

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine.—Upon the report of our Minister of the Finances, we have decreed, and decree as follows:—Art. I. All vessels which, after having touched at England, from any motive whatsoever, shall enter the ports of France, shall be seized and fiscated, as well as their cargoes, without exception or distinction of commodities or merchandize.—II. The captains of vessels who shall enter the ports of France, shall, on the day of their arrival, proceed to the office of the Imperial Customs, and there make a declaration of the place from which they sailed, of the ports they have put into, and exhibit their manifests, bills of lading, sea-papers, and log-books.—When the captain shall have signed and delivered his declaration, and communicated his papers, the head officer of the customs shall interrogate the sailors separately, in the presence of two overseers. If it results from this examination that the vessel has touched at England, independent of the seizure and confiscation of the said ship and cargo, the captain, as well as those sailors, who, upon examinations shall have made a false declara-

tion, shall be deemed prisoners, and shall not be set at liberty until after having paid the sum of 60,000 franks, as a personal penalty for the captain, and 500 franks for each of the sailors so arrested, over and above the pains incurred by those who falsify their papers and log-books.—III. If advice or information communicated to the directors of our customs give rise to any suspicions as to the origin of the cargoes, they shall be provisionally warehoused until it is ascertained and decided that they do not come from England or her colonies.—IV. Our commissaries for commercial relations, who deliver certificates of origin for merchandize laden in the ports of their residence destined for that of France, shall not confine themselves to an attestation that the merchandise or commodities do not come from England or her colonies or commerce; they shall indicate the place of origin, the documents which have been laid before them in support of the declaration which has been made to them, and the name of the ship on board of which they have been primarily transported from the place of origin into that of their residence.

PORTUGAL.—*Gen. Junot's Proclamation, upon entering Lisbon, Nov. 30, 1807.*

Inhabitants of Lisbon,—My army is about entering your walls; it was coming for the purpose of rescuing your ports and your prince from the influence of England.—But this prince, so respectable by his virtue, has allowed himself to be hurried away by the counsels of some wicked men who surrounded him, and he is gone to fling himself into the arms of his enemies. He has been made to feel apprehensive for his personal safety, his subjects have been counted for nothing, and his interests sacrificed to the base cowardice of some courtiers.—Inhabitants of Lisbon, remain quiet within your houses; fear neither me nor my army; we are formidable only to the enemy and to the wicked. The great Napoleon, my master, sends me to protect you.

ITALY.—*Napoleon's Decree, adopting Eugene Beauharnois, as his successor in Italy.—Dated at Milan, 19th Dec. 1807.*

We, Napoleon, by the Grace of God, and the Constitution of the Empire, Emperor of the French, and King of Italy, decree as follows:—Art. 1. We adopt for our son, Prince Eugene Beauharnois, Arch Chancellor of State of our Empire of France, and Viceroy of our Kingdom of Italy.—2. The Crown of Italy shall be,

after us, and in default of our children, and male legitimate descendants, hereditary in the person of Prince Eugene, and his direct legitimate descendants from male to male by order of primogeniture, to the perpetual exclusion of women and their descendants.

—3. In default of our sons and male descendants, and the sons' and male descendants of Prince Eugene, the Crown of Italy shall devolve to the son and nearest relative of such of the Princes of our blood, as shall then reign in France.—4. Prince Eugene, our son, shall enjoy all the honours attached to our adoption.—5. The right which our adoption gives him shall never, in any case, authorize him or his descendants to urge any pretensions to the Crown of France, the succession to which is invariably fixed.

The decree of the 20th confers upon Prince Eugene Napoleon the title of Prince of Venice. Another decree confers upon "our well-beloved grand-daughter, Princess Josephine, as a mark of our satisfaction to our good city of Bologna," the title of Princess of Bologna. Another decree declares the Chancellor Melzi, Duke of Lodi. After the above decrees had been read, the Emperor made the following speech:—

Gentlemen, Possidenti, Dotti, and Commercianti, I see you with pleasure about my throne. Returned after 3 years absence, I am pleased at remarking the progress which my people have made—but how many things remain to be done to efface the faults of our forefathers, and to render you worthy of the destiny I am preparing for you.—The intestine divisions of our ancestors, their miserable egotism to particular cities, paved the way for the loss of all our rights. The country was disinherited of its rank and its dignity; that country which in more distant ages had carried so far the honour of its arms and the eclat of its virtues. I will make my glory consist in regaining that eclat and those virtues.—Citizens of Italy, I have done much for you; I will do much more. But on your side, united in heart as you are in interest with my people of France, consider them as elder brother. Always behold the source of our prosperity, the guarantee of our institutions, and that of our independence in the union of the Iron Crown with that of my Imperial Crown.

COBBETT'S

Parliamentary Debates.

The First Number of the Tenth Volume of the above Work will be ready for delivery in the course of a few days.